THE MEANING

OF THE

PALESTINE PARTITION

- EARL BROWDER
- JOHN ARNOLD
- STATEMENT OF C. P., GREAT BRITAIN

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CONTENTS

ABOUT THE CRISIS IN ZIONISM
— *EARL BROWDER*

THE PARTITION OF PALESTINE
— *JOHN ARNOLD*

PARTITION IS A CRIME AGAINST ARABS AND JEWS
— *POLITICAL BUREAU, COMMUNIST PARTY, GREAT BRITAIN*

ABOUT THE CRISIS IN ZIONISM*

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by

EARL BROWDER

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ALL Jewish workers who have been supporters, or have been influenced by, Zionism, and who have been hostile to the Communist Party because our Party opposed its political program, should really be prepared to do some hard and fundamental thinking about the latest British proposal for par-

*) This article, by the General Secretary of the Communist Party, U. S. A., originally appeared in the September issue of *Jewish Life*.

tition of Palestine, and to draw some serious lessons from the crisis in Zionism that it produced.

Is it not clear that the partition of Palestine puts an end to all the illusions so long propagated about a "strong Jewish State" in the future?

Is it not clear that the British Imperialists deliberately prepared for this debacle of Zionism by setting the Jews against the Arabs, and by creating conditions that made friendly cooperation between the two people more and more difficult?

Is it not clear that the Zionist leadership failed to take a single step to offset or block this strategy of the Imperialists, but on the contrary became their tools and echoes?

Is it not clear that any program of a dispersed people, which looks to support of the British Imperialists for realization, inevitably becomes simply a tool in the hands of the Imperialists?

All four of these questions are clear to all thinking people now, no matter how much we might still disagree about more basic problems. The crisis in Zionism is now so deep, and its immediate causes stand out so clearly, that all honest people must soon be of one opinion on these simple questions.

These words are addressed especially to those who in the past were antagonistic to the Communist Party because of our attacks against Zionism. I ask you, in view of the crisis in Zionism today, is it not necessary for you to review again all the fundamental problems involved in this question—to talk them over among yourselves, *and also with*

us? We have been proved correct by events in many of the points we raised with you before. Is it not possible that our criticism merits your renewed examination in the light of these latest events?

I know well how difficult it is for men and women to come together again for sober discussion, after having been divided for years by acrimonious disputes. But is it not necessary now, from your point of view as well as from ours, to rise above all old quarrels which were based upon a world situation now fundamentally changed, and see if we cannot agree on how to face this changed world which threatens our interests with equal ferocity?

That the British Imperialists now openly throw overboard their promises to Zionism (promises which we always said they would never keep), may be a disaster to those who built up a whole program and a life based upon such a shifty foundation. But the old saying that "it's an ill wind that blows no good," also applies to this problem. Out of the wreckage of hopes and illusions, this much good at least can be gained—and must be gained by the efforts of all honest men and women on both sides of the old disputes—the good of wiping out the false barriers that divided us, of making a fresh approach to establish brotherly and comradely relations between Jewish workers of common interests who had been separated about differences now shown to be false ones.

Maybe we Communists have also been at fault in the past with regard to the fierceness with which

this false conflict was allowed to rage. We are ready to examine this question also, and are always self-critical in such matters. We have no desire now to cry "I told you so"; we don't want to make other workers' disasters a victory for us. Even if we made mistakes, it was only because we saw that disaster inherent in the program of Zionism, and wanted to avert it. Now we all have a chance to review the whole situation again, in the light of new facts which are changing the face not only of Palestine but of the whole world, and see if we cannot work out a common platform upon which American workers of all national origins cannot get together with American workers of Jewish origin, without being longer divided by that old and unfortunate feud about Zionism.

New days and new problems require new thoughts, new programs, and new friends. We offer our hand of fellowship to all disillusioned Zionist workers for a new common approach to all our problems.

THE PARTITION OF PALESTINE*

by

JOHN ARNOLD

ON July 8, 1937, the Report of the Palestine Royal Commission was published. The most significant aspect of the Report is the recommendation for changes in the form of the administration of Palestine. The Royal Commission proposes the partitioning

*) The following is an elaboration of the article *British Scissors Over Palestine* which appeared in the August issue of *JEWISH LIFE*. Many details of this analysis were arrived at in collaboration with H. I. Costrell, Secretary of the New York State Jewish Buro, C. P.

of the country into two states: a smaller Jewish state encompassing the northern, fertile part of the country; a British corridor between the proposed Jewish and Arab states; and an Arab state encompassing the southern part of Palestine and all of Transjordan. Aside from the two states and the corridor a number of British mandated cities are proposed, dividing the 10,000 square miles of Palestine into a complicated conglomeration of states, divorced cities and a British wedge through the heart of the divided country. Complicated as the plan may seem on the surface, however, the motives behind the plan are comparatively simple.

Palestine For British Imperialism

The partition does not mark a radical departure from the line that Britain has pursued in Palestine during its administration of the territory. Though the partition introduces certain new features, in reality it is a solidification of Britain's strategic position in the awakening Near East. The new forms proposed by the present plan will merely allow for the realization of old imperialist intentions that could not be realized, as easily, under the Mandate.

It is important to emphasize one fact before undertaking any serious study of the Commission's Report. Despite the proposed creation of two states, a Jewish State and an Arab State, *neither the Jews nor the Arabs will govern Palestine in the end.*

This fact is established in the official Summary itself.*

"The problem," the Commission states, "cannot be solved by giving either the Arabs or the Jews all they want. The answer to the question which of them in the end will govern Palestine must be 'Neither.'"

Despite this blunt statement, which somehow escaped the imperialist scrutiny of the editors, the Report is demagogically presented in terms of the benefits that the Jews and Arabs would derive from the partitioning of the country. It is well, then, to study the Report in terms of its own special logic. This study will reveal certain basic and immediate contradictions in the very presentation and argument of the Report.

The Report is built on the premise that far-reaching national antagonisms are troubling the peace of Palestine. The Commission maintains that the time has come to alleviate these antagonisms, to do something decisive that will terminate the present conflicts. As the Report states it:

"The disease is so deep-rooted that in the commissioners' firm conviction the only hope of a cure lies in a surgical operation."

The question that remains, then, is whether or not

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*) All quotations from the Report are taken from the official "Summary of the Report of the Palestine Royal Commission" which appeared in the *New York Times* of July 8, 1937.

the suggested cure will remedy the existent situation. A study of the situation in Palestine will reveal that it does not.

National Antagonisms

The antagonisms that exist, the antagonisms which the Commission proposes to alleviate have, paradoxically enough, been created by Great Britain, whom the Commission represents. This fact in itself is enough to make us suspicious of the propositions such a Commission might recommend. By testing the proposals in the light of objective facts we learn that such suspicions are well founded.

We are informed by the Commission that:

"Under the stress of the World War the British Government made promises to Arabs and Jews, in order to obtain their support. [*Notice, by the way, that the illusion as to the humanitarian interests of Great Britain in the national aspirations of the Jews and Arabs is completely shattered—J. A.*] On the strength of these promises both parties formed certain expectations."

But these promises made to the Jews and Arabs were irreconcilable. Upon these promises persecuted Jews and oppressed Arabs both built their aspirations of freedom and liberty. Great Britain, conscious of the conflicting nature of these promises, still continued to pose before the Jews and Arabs as their respective liberator, continued to ascertain

the authenticity and nobility of her promises and maintained that Britain was honor-bound to fulfill them and would live up to her obligations. Finally, however, after seventeen years of extended promises, during which time England betrayed both the Jews and Arabs *in action,* a British commission of investigation announces that the Mandate and the mandatory conditions under which England governed Palestine are causes of national conflicts. The Commission further suggests that the Mandate, and the conditions it determined, must be replaced by new administrative conditions.

It is historically established that the Jews and Arabs lived in peace until Britain took control of the territory. With the ascent of British imperialism, antagonisms between the two peoples were fomented by Great Britain so that she could dominate both national groups and ensure her control of the territory. This imperialist device, which grows out of the very nature of the imperialist solution of the colonial question, is so well established that there is no need to elaborate. Even the *New York Times,* in an editorial (July 8, 1937), recognizes the role that Britain has played. The editorial states:

"Throughout the whole history of this post-war immigration (during which time Palestine was under British control—J. A.) the conflicting promises made to Arab and Zionist have been a cause of steadily increasing conflict."

Obviously one cannot promise the same territory to two oppressed peoples, maintain that both promises are irrevocable, foment antagonisms between both groups, and then "hope" that *peace* between the two national groups will ensue in the natural course of development.

The terms of the Mandate as practiced by the British government were the cause of conflict and violence. In proposing that the Mandate be abandoned is the Commission proposing a plan that will terminate the national antagonisms, that will create the conditions, at long last, for the Jews and Arabs to live together peacefully?

Imperialist Logic

The Report maintains (in a subtle expression of wish-fulfillment) that:

"An irrepressible conflict has arisen between two national communities within the narrow bounds of one small country. There is no common ground between them. Their national aspirations are incompatible. The Arabs desire to revive the traditions of the Arab golden age. The Jews desire to show what they can achieve when restored to the land in which the Jewish nation was born. Neither of the two national ideals permits of combination in the service of a single State."

This single paragraph, expressing the opinion of the Commission, is replete with falsities.

First, the "irrepressible conflict" has not "arisen" —it was created by Britain through false promises

and a policy that disregarded the interests of the Jews and Arabs in Palestine.

Second, there is a common ground between Jews and Arabs, a common social and economic ground which Britain has persistently fought and which she would now like to annihilate completely. This apparent common ground was recently described in the memoranda and oral evidence submitted by representatives of the Histadruth (the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine) to the Royal Commission, parts of which were published in the *Jewish Frontier* of July, 1937.

Despite the fact that the Histadruth has continually avoided the real issues of Arab-Jewish relations and has pursued a tactic of Jim-Crowism and Jewish exclusivism, at the period of the Commission's investigation, the Histadruth was forced into admitting the existence of mutual Arab-Jewish interests. Under the growing pressure of British imperialism, a pressure which made the Histadruth fear some drastic imperialist step, the Jewish labor leaders *finally* admitted the contention that the Communists have been working on for many years.

Previous Labor and Communist analyses have proven and affirmed the common interests of the Jews and Arabs in Palestine. At the present time it is of immediate interest to quote the admissions of the Histadruth. Not only do they affirm previous Communist statements, but they place new *responsibilities* upon the Histadruth, responsibilities which the Histadruth has failed to admit heretofore.

The Histadruth evidence stated:

"The workers of both communities—the Jews, consciously, and the Arabs, instinctively—realized that there exists *a real and organic basis for the establishment of friendly relations between them.*" (Italics mine—J. A.)

And further:

"In the opinion of the Jewish worker the aim of Jewry and of the Zionist Organization to create a mutual understanding between Jews and Arabs in Palestine could only be furthered by cooperation between the working classes of the two peoples—that is, a co-operation based on their common vital interests."

And further still:

"The Jewish worker stretched out a helping hand to the backward sections of the Arab workers in Palestine, not only on ethical grounds but on grounds of real and vital common interests. The Jewish worker realized that it was to his own advantage to have at his side, instead of a backward and ignorant laborer, a conscious and organized worker who can stand by him and play his part in the furtherance of labor interests in Palestine." (Original italics.)

That the Histadruth has chosen to act out of a supposed common interest with British imperialism rather than out of the organic, real and vital common interests of the Jewish and Arab workers, in no way denies the validity of the common interest.

If the Histadruth is really sincere in its declarations of common Jewish-Arab interests, these statements demand a break with the old chauvinist line of the Histadruth labor policy and dictate a new line based upon the recognition that the unity of

Jews and Arabs is the next step in the democratic development of Palestine.

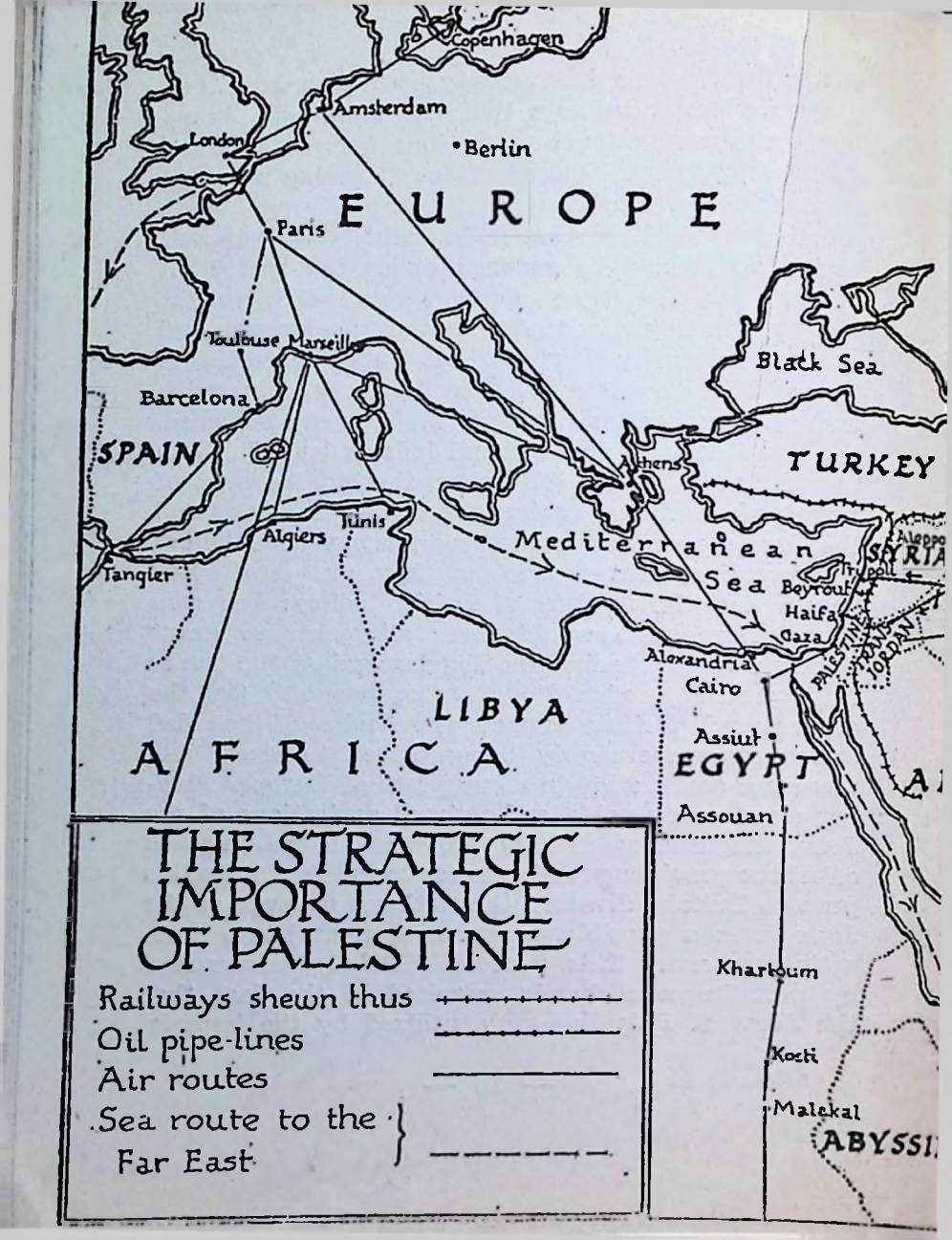
Britain, however, is opposed to a unity built upon such a mutual interest, for it would mean, of necessity, an anti-imperialist unity. In this respect the Histadruth evidence reiterates a long-known fact.

"But the real cause for grievance of the Jewish labor movement lies in the fact that in spite of various statements made by the High Commissioner in favor of cooperation between Jewish and Arab workers, the Government authorities have not only not encouraged joint Jewish Arab trade union activity, *but have in most cases placed obstacles in the way of such activity.* (Original italics.) A more liberal attitude on the part of the Government towards this sphere of work of the General Federation of Jewish Labor would be advantageous to the economic and social development of the country as a whole, and would open up new possibilities for a Jewish-Arab understanding *which would consequently lead to the establishment of lasting peace in Palestine.* (Italics mine.—J. A.)

This statement does not excuse the negligence of the Histadruth in this respect, but it does reveal the attitude of the British government to the unity of Jewish and Arab workers in the pursuance of their common aims. *England is opposed to unity between the Jewish and Arab people and therefore proposes to set up permanent barriers between them.*

The third statement in the previously quoted paragraph of the Commission reveals a basic British betrayal of the Jews and Arabs. The Commission maintains that: "Their national aspirations are in-

compatible." This has already been disproven, but it is significant to note that the Jews and Arabs had the same national aspirations *before the Mandate was granted.* Oppressed Jews, seeking a refuge from their persecution in Eastern Europe, were promised by Britain that in Palestine their national aspirations would be realized under the protection of England. The Arabs, oppressed by Turkey, fought for Britain against their Turkish oppressors and were promised by England that Palestine would be theirs. The Report establishes the fact that "Jewish immigration had not created, it had only stiffened, the Arab demand for national independence." With this fact established it is clear that in the eyes of Britain the national aspirations of both the Jews and the Arabs must have been as incompatible before the promises were made as they are now. But herein lies the essence of British policy: her own imperial interests would never allow her to grant freedom to the Arabs who fought against the Turks in expectation of national independence. On the other hand, Britain fanned the desire of hounded Jews who were slowly being driven to social and economic destruction in many parts of Europe. Playing upon many noble and natural aspirations of the Jews, England made new promises to the Jews to offset the previous promises made to the Arabs. In this process Britain diverted the national upsurge of the Jews from a possible progressive channel into a reactionary one. This process, skillfully maneuvered by deft imperial hands, resulted in the fact that the Jews of Palestine were utilized by the imperial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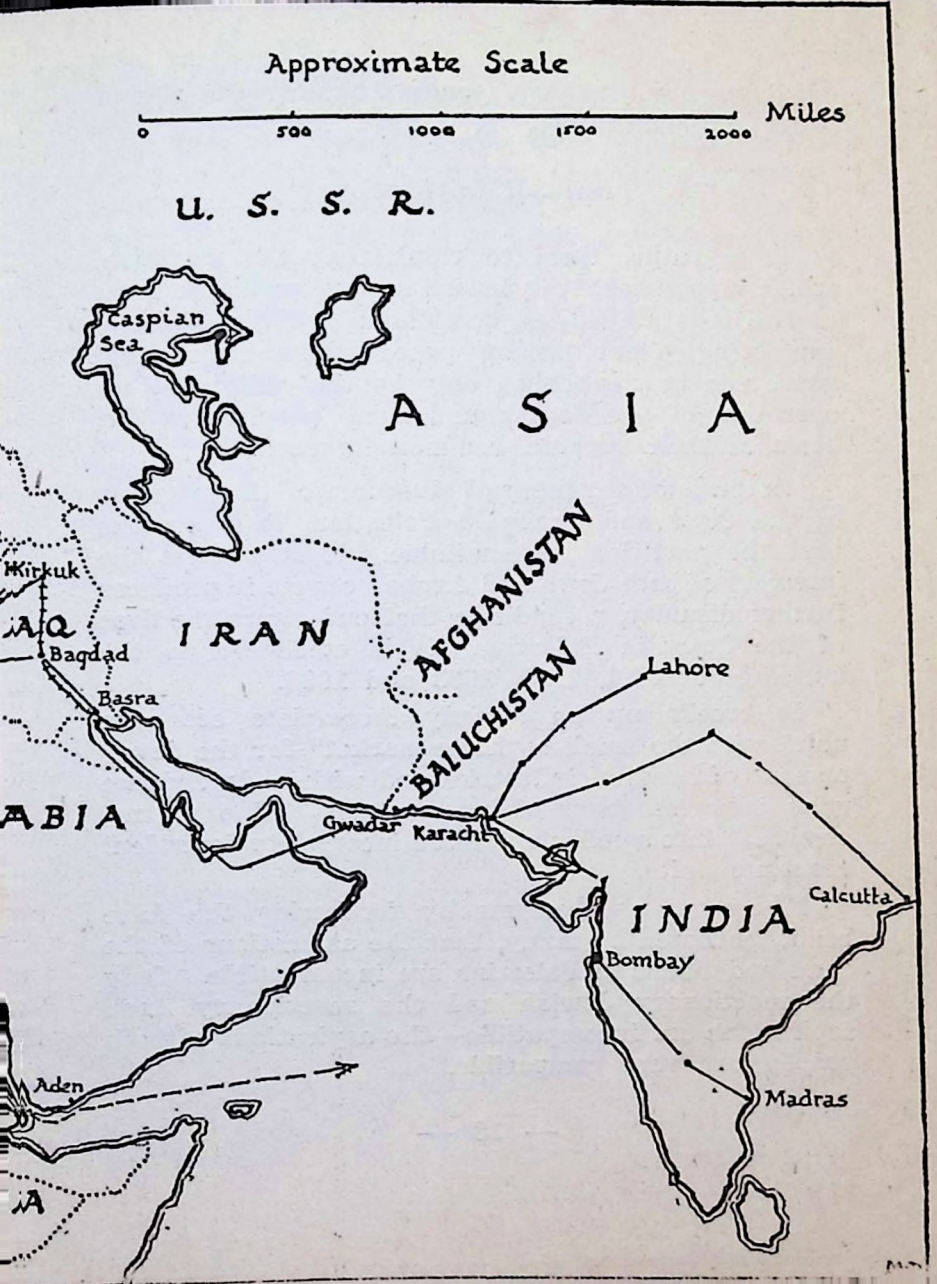
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Aden

strategists in Britain's struggle against the rise of Arab nationalism.

Internal Implications

It is futile, then, to think that the partition, which crystalizes Arab-Jewish separation in the form of two separate States, dominated by Great Britain, can bring about lasting peace when, admittedly, peace can be established only by the unity and co-operation of the Jewish and Arab peoples, on the basis of their organic, common interests.

In terms of the internal situation, of the interests of the Jews and Arabs in Palestine, it is obvious that the partition is unsuitable. It is against the interests of both Jews and Arabs because it produces further disunity, a condition that endangers the lives of the Jews in Palestine, as is evidenced in the uprisings of 1921, 1929, 1933 and 1936.

It breaks up an already incomplete economic unit (with too small a "home-market" for the development of internal industries and with a dependence upon imported foods, dairy products and other necessities) into smaller and more incomplete-dependent economic units.

It creates antagonisms by furthering the false belief, harbored by many, that the aspirations of the Jews and Arabs in Palestine are incompatible. Only the reactionary Jewish and the reactionary Arab aspirations are incompatible—the aspirations of both *peoples* are very compatible.

Both people want the elimination of domination by oppressive, outside forces. Both people want the establishment of such conditions that will allow them to attain social and economic security, to develop their national cultures and to establish peace and mutual understanding.

The pre-requisite for the realization of the national interests of the Jews and Arabs in Palestine is, first of all, the elimination of British imperialism which is actively denying the interests of both peoples. The struggle of the Arab countries for freedom and independence is a struggle *against* British imperialism, and the peace of the Jews in Palestine is possible only with the participation of the Jews in this anti-imperialist struggle.

The partition creates antagonisms by divorcing Jewish communities from the proposed Jewish State and Arab communities from the proposed Arab State The proposition for the transplanting of the thousands of Arabs residing in Jewish territory would create even greater antagonisms.

The partition is in direct opposition to the interests of the Jewish workers. It would create a reserve of cheap Arab labor and would lower the working standards of the Jewish workers who have struggled hard for their workers' rights.

The partition is in direct opposition to the interests of the Arab workers. It would push them into a semi-feudal, primarily agricultural State, cut off from the major industrial centers of the country and would lead to greater unemployment

of Arabs and to conflicts between Jewish and Arab workers.

Britain's Motives

The broader motivations that lead England to suggest the partition at this time can be understood only in relation to the wider interests of British imperialism.

The post-war period marks an era of the weakening of Britain's imperial power. The economic and political supremacy of England was questioned in many subject countries. A process was set in motion with serious implications for the "builders of the Empire." Of this process R. Palme-Dutt, the keen political analyst, says:

> "Britain, economically weakening in foreign markets, was becoming more and more parasitically dependent on the Empire, while the Empire was moving economically away from the British connection. . . Hand in hand with this process of economic disintegration went increasing tendencies of political disintegration." R. Palme Dutt: World Politics: 1918-1936, pp. 234-235.

The growth of the revolutionary colonial movement, the conflict of imperialisms in the Far East which weakened the supremacy of England in that territory, the Japanese fascist offensive in China, the Italian fascist offensive in the Near East and the anti-imperialist developments in India were matters of grave concern to the future of British imperialism.

Palestine, as is well known, is a strategic center of the Empire defense. (See map on pages 16-17.)

The Palestine partition plan is a result of this need of Britain's to strengthen her position. The tremendous armaments program that England is carrying out today has actually put England on a war-time basis and the partition is a strategic consolidation or maneuver for a possible war-time situation.

It is well to remember that British policy and British maneuvers have headed towards the climax represented in the partition. The essential details of this plan were already hinted at by Mr. Amery, the Imperial strategist, at the Debate on the Palestine Situation in the House of Commons on June 21, 1936. Couched as Mr. Amery's statement is in terms of benefits to the Jews and Arabs, the essential imperialist voice is recognizable. He said in part:

"You should take an area, or several areas, in the country and definitely decide that within those areas land should not be alienated to any except the original population of the country. There is, indeed, a very large area already, on the main backbone of Palestine from north of Lake Galilee right across to Jerusalem, and beyond, still overwhelmingly Arab in population and where you can secure that those Arabs—and they are something like two-thirds the whole rural Arab population of Palestine—should have a guarantee that they should always inhabit that ancestral home of theirs. It is what we have done in other countries.

"It is not, in my opinion, at all unfair to compare what is happening in Palestine with what is happening in Kenya. In both these countries you are dealing with the impact of an economically more active and more highly developed race upon a more primitive and backward race. Undoubtedly that impact means more development, more progress, more prosperity for the back-

ward people as well. At the same time, there is, for the backward people in each case, the danger that unless substantial areas are reserved for their future, they may not get their full and fair share of all the ultimate benefits that will rseult from the immigration of the more advanced and more active community. It is from that point of view that certain areas have been set aside for the use of native inhabitants in Kenya. I see no reason why similar areas should not be set aside for the Arab population of Palestine, and indeed I should like to suggest that investigation of that possibility should be among the points to which the attention of the commission should be turned." (*The Palestine Post,* June 26, 1936.)

Demagogy Explained

The best paraphrase of Mr. Amery's *whole* parliamentary speech, explaining the imperialist core of a finely polished speech, was made in the Labor Monthly Pamphlet, *Who Is Prosperous in Palestine?* by British Resident. The author says:

"Mr. Amery's argument, expressed in more honest and less parliamentary language, with its implications fully stated, amounts to this: 'The dominant consideration in deciding how to deal with the Palestine disturbances is the need to look after British imperial communications and imperial strategy. We are not allowed under the Mandate to maintain a naval base in Palestine, but imperial interests are far more important than our obligations to the League of Nations, so we have turned Haifa into a defended port for cruisers. The possession of this defended port in the east Mediterranean will be of great value to us when we are forced to relax our grip on Egypt and consequently on Alexandria.

" 'The best way by which we can ensure that our grip on Palestine, and in particular on Haifa, is per-

manent, is by planning in that country a population which, owing to its obligation to England, will remain pro-British in sympathy and will act as a counter-weight to the native population in their struggle for independence. The Jews, owing to the unfortunate position in which they are placed in many countries in Europe, and to their large capital resources, are particularly well-suited to becoming the instruments of British imperialism in Palestine.

" 'The keeping of Palestine under British autocratic control and the colonisation of the country by Jews is necessarily unjust to the native population, since it deprives them of part of their land and frustrates them in their struggle for independence. But these facts are of no importance compared with the importance of safeguarding British imperial interests. Therefore the present revolt in Palestine must be brutally suppressed. I am glad to hear how brutally the Palestine Government is suppressing it.

" 'When enough Arabs have been killed to break their resistance for the time being, it might be a good plan to perpetuate their serf status by applying the method applied with regard to other native populations who have been deprived of their land by European settlers, *e.g.*, the natives of Kenya—that is to say, having turned the natives off any land which the Europeans want or think they may want, form a reserve of land which the Europeans don't want and crowd the natives into that. They will then be forced to come and work for us in order to get money first to provide the food they will need owing to their inability to grow sufficient in these crowded reserves, and secondly to pay the taxes which we will enforce on them.' " (Pp. 10-11.)

Further in his pamphlet, published in England in *November,* 1936, *British Resident* points out that the policy of greatest advantage to England would be a partition policy and already then, *nine months*

before the Commission's Report appeared, he depicted the British needs that the partition would meet and the disadvantages it would create for the Jews and Arabs. The essentials of the proposed plan were already outlined by the author of the pamphlet:

"The second, more positive, line would be to attempt the segregation of the Arab and Jewish populations of Palestine in two reserves, in the manner suggested by Mr. Amery in his speech quoted earlier in this pamphlet. Arabs in the Arab reserve would be prevented from selling their land to any but Arabs. There would presumably also be a Jewish reserve in which the same principle would hold. Some British imperialists, considered to be pro-Arab in sympathies, have gone further and have urged that Palestine should be partitioned into two states. One, the Jewish state, would consist of the greatest part of the fertile plain-land, where most of the existing Jewish settlements are situated. The Arab state would include the less fertile hill country, the Jordan valley, the southern desert, and certain parts of the fertile plain. Both states would, in theory, enjoy autonomy under British protection. The Arab state, to compensate it for the amputation of its plains, would be permitted to unite with Trans-Jordan, under the kingship of the Amir Abdullah, the present titular sovereign of that country. Haifa would, in view of its strategic importance, continue to be ruled directly by the British. The professed motive of either segregation or partition would of course be that the cohabitation of Jews and Arabs within a single community had been found

by experience to be unworkable, and that consequently a solution of that kind was 'in the best interests of both communities.'

"What would be the effect of segregation on the various interests involved? The proposal would, undoubtedly be resisted at the outset by Zionist capitalism, since it would mean that Trans-Jordan and half of Palestine would be barred against its penetration; eventually it would be accepted if it was clear that the British Government had nothing better to offer, since it would at least ensure the protection of its interests in those parts of Palestine into which it had already penetrated. The Arab landowning and capitalist classes would accept the proposal since it would free a large area for Arab capitalist expansion, unhampered by Zionist competition; at the same time it would increase their political influence, while British protection would safeguard their interests against those of the Arab masses.

"Obviously this latter solution would be dear to the heart of imperialism: the communal division, the vassal-prince, are devices which have been applied in India; the creation of a native and an European reserve has been tried out in Kenya. By placating Arab capitalists and the right wing of the middle class, England would weaken the opposition of Arab nationalism. At the same time by splitting the forces of the Arab and Jewish masses it would be able to insure against the possibility of an alliance between them: it would control the one through the Arab land-owning and capitalist classes under an Arab prince, and the other through Zionist capitalism. On

the economic side segregation would mean more displacement of Arab peasants from the Jewish reserve, more proletarianisation and unemployment, with less opportunity for Arab workers to learn methods of trade union organisation from Jewish workers or to combine in trade unions with them. Clearly the segregation or partition, if, as appears possible, either is recommended by the Royal Commission, must be vigorously resisted." (Pp. 41-42.)

Other considerations of Britain in suggesting partition at the present time are the general unrest in the Near East and the machinations of Italian imperialism to undermine the hegemony of Great Britain in this territory.* In this respect the London correspondent of the *New York Times*, in a dispatch published on May 26, 1937, offers us some interesting details:

"The fact is that nowhere in the Arabian Near East

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*) A full analysis of the conflicts of Italian and British imperialism in this area appears in *World Politics*: 1916-1938 by R. Palme Dutt.

He says: "Control of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea represented for Britain its vital line of communication with its Empire in Africa, the Near and Middle East, India and Australia. An Italian dominance in the region of the Red Sea, on the basis of a solid block of Eritrea, Abyssinia and Somaliland as well as of Yemen on the other shore, meant not only a deadly peril to that line of communication, but was also regarded as the starting point for an ultimate converging attack from Libya on the west and Abyssinia on the south for the conquest of the Sudan and Egypt. For there was no doubt of the ultimate plans of Italian imperialism." (Pp. 245-246.)

is there indicated a situation of enduring security . . . In these circumstances there are distinct signs of a British desire to strengthen the hands of Emir Abdullah, ruler of Transjordania, who has shown himself amenable to influence and is well advised by a group of capable British officials. The idea is to have at least one friendly Arab State sufficiently powerful to assume leadership in a disputed Arab world. . . .

"There is believed to be no difficulty about insuring that it would be accompanied by a military convention giving the British Army and air force effective control of the territory."

The significance to Britain of a military convention that would give control of the territory to the British Army and British air force need not be elaborated! Thus Britain hopes to secure her own domination over the area and in this manner wishes to keep a strong check on the growing anti-imperialist movement of the Arabs.

The "roll-call" vote of the World Zionist Congress, adopting the resolution to accept the partition plan in principle, is a support of Britain's interests and a sacrifice of the Jewish interests in Palestine.

The many Jews who are looking at the idea of a Jewish state with favor, thinking that their hopes of self-determination will be realized in the puppet state that Britain is so gratuitiously offering would do well, if they really have the interests of their Jewish brothers at heart, to consider one very significant fact. The basic strategic interests of Great Britain are in the proposed Jewish territory: the Mosul pipe line outlet and the Haifa harbor which can be used as a naval base. In this England follows good imperial strategy once again. In the

event of an Arab anti-imperialist uprising, England would most probably direct it against the Jewish State, as she has already done on past occasions. *The Jews, in fighting for the defense of their State, would be fighting for the defense of the strategic interests of Britain in Palestine.*

The Communist attitude to the situation in Palestine remains, essentially, the same. First, all opposition to the partition which is a betrayal of the basic interests of the Jewish and Arab masses in Palestine. In this effort the Communists will cooperate with all forces who enter the struggle against the manifestations of British Imperialism in Palestine.

Second, we Jewish Communists maintain that the national aspirations of the Jews, who are the victims of reaction and fascism, will not be realized as long as the Jews offer themselves, consciously or unconsciously, to the service of British imperialism. Our interests as Jews demand the unity of the Jewish and Arab people in Palestine on the basis of the organic and vital interests that exist. This unity which will necessarily express itself in a common struggle against imperialism is the struggle for the rights of the two peoples in the country they both inhabit. This struggle is part and parcel of the liberation movement of the Arabian countries. The interests of the Jews at the present time demand that the Jews ally themselves with this anti-imperialist movement, for only through the liberation of Palestine from England's oppressive yoke will the Jews inhabit the territory in security and peace.

PARTITION IS A CRIME AGAINST ARABS AND JEWS

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Statement of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Great Britain on the proposals of the Palestine Royal Commission.

THE recommendations of the Peel Commission on Palestine constitute clearly a fresh endeavor of British imperialism to strengthen its position in Palestine. The Commission's Report shows that after seventeen years' trial British rule has failed to bring good government and peace to Palestine. It has admitted that under the mandate the problem of Jewish and Arab grievances cannot be resolved; it therefore recommends the termination of the mandate on the basis of partition. The proposed partition is a crime against both Arabs and Jews.

British imperialism is concerned not with the interests of Arabs or Jews, but with rendering secure

the vital strategic military and naval centers in Palestine. For this reason the Commission recommends that Haifa, an important naval base and head of the oil pipe-line from Kirkuk, should be retained under mandatory control for an indefinite period. By the recommendation that a permanent British mandate be established over an enclave running inland from Jaffa to a point east of Jerusalem, and a mandate over a second enclave on the northwest coast of the Gulf of Aquaba, Britain will have a firm footing in Palestine and control of access to the Red Sea.

"Offer" or Threat

It is significant that the "offer" of partition is made with 18,000 armed forces standing by in Palestine, reinforcements ready to move, the battle cruiser *Repulse* at Haifa, and Communists imprisoned or deported as a precautionary measure. The Government's Statement of Policy announces that the Palestine Government will not hesitate to impose martial law should it be considered necessary.

The Arab and Jewish problem, which the British Government is concerned now to liquidate by partition, was created by the policy of British imperialism in its operation of the mandate. For centuries Arabs and Jews have lived together in harmony. Prior to the advent of British rule in Palestine, 60,000 Jews lived in friendly relationship with the Arab population. It is proposed now that the mandate be terminated. The problem is now to

be solved by partition in complete disregard of the views and wishes of the inhabitants of Palestine.

The proposal for partitioning Palestine does not provide a solution to the problem, neither is it workable. It denies the inhabitants of Palestine the right of national self-determination and puts obstacles in the way of Jewish development in common citizenship with Moslems and Christians. Partition is against the economic and commercial interests of both Arabs and Jews, and would aggravate and not diminish the tension. The creation of two separate states would produce friction over frontiers, tariffs, limited access to the sea.

The most fantastic and mischievous proposition, however, is the offer to forcible expropriation of almost a quarter of a million Arabs, although the Royal Commission admits that it is not known whether there is suitable land available to settle these Arabs. Furthermore, the wishes of the Arabs are not considered; just because they happen to be living within the territory assigned by the Commissioners to the Jewish state they are to be evicted.

The creation of a corridor dividing the Jewish state into two will undoubtedly provide a basis for friction. It is clear from the above few examples that, should partition be affected, Palestine, thus divided, would become a virtual powder magazine.

There is no justification for the denial of self-determination to the Arab people. At the same time it is incumbent on the Arabs to guarantee equal democratic, civil and cultural rights for Jews within

an independent Palestine or wider Arab state.

The Communist Party fully sympathizes with the position of the Jews. For centuries the Jewish people have been the object of vicious persecution in many so-called civilized countries. The whole situation has been aggravated since Hitler came to power. Anti-Semitism, the weapon of fascism, must be fought. Along with the working class of all countries, the Jewish people have played an heroic part in this fight.

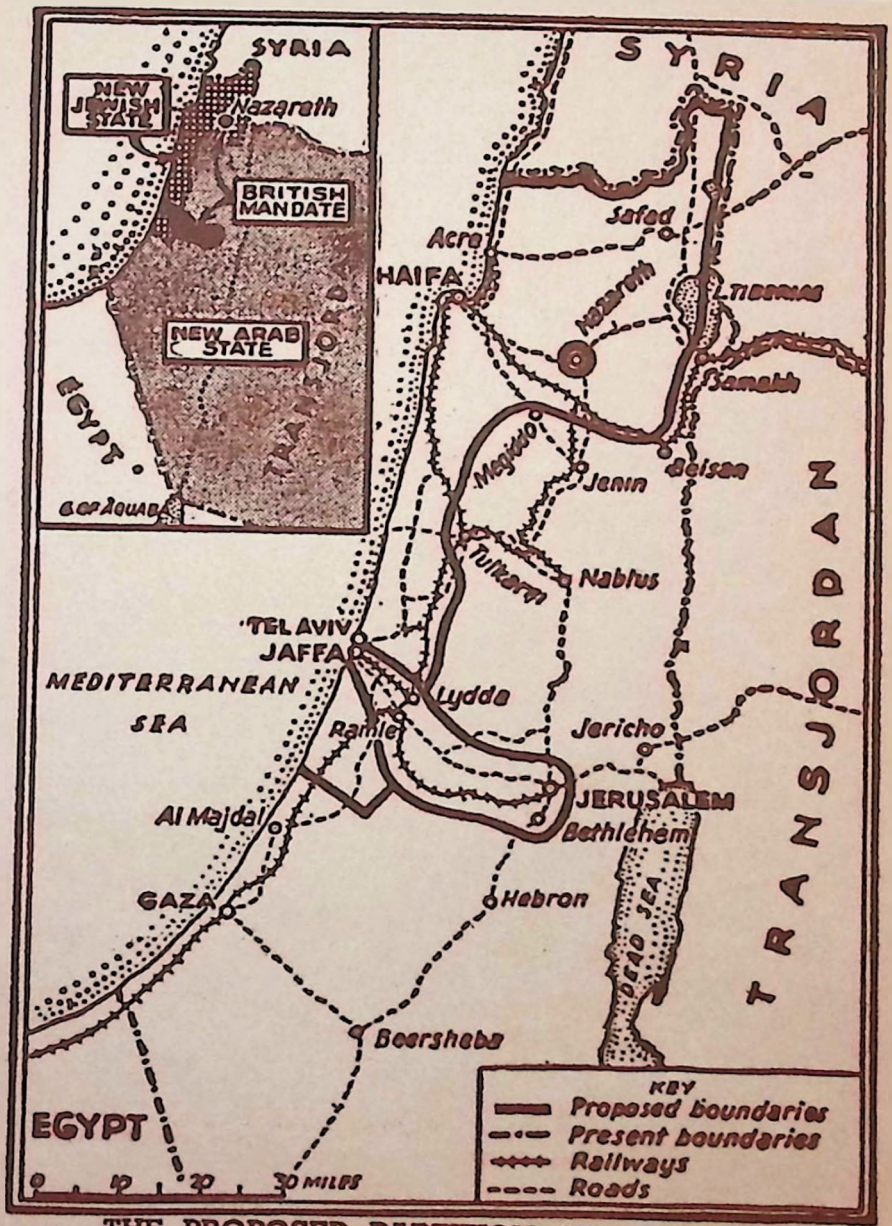
The illusion of a national home for the Jews in Palestine is now exploded. Only the smallest minority of Jews could hope to escape from the terror of the fascist countries to Palestine. Immigration, therefore, is no solution.

The question of immigration can be dealt with only by a democratically elected government representative of the whole population of Palestine and cannot be forced upon the people against their will.

We therefore demand the termination of the mandate, the withdrawal of troops and garrisons from Palestine.

The proposal to partition Palestine against the wishes of both Arabs and Jews calls for the immediate cooperation of the people of Palestine, irrespective of religion, in the face of common danger.

Cooperation on the basis of the demand for the termination of the mandate; the recognition of an independent Arab state with full rights of citizenship for the Jews; and the institution of a democratically-elected legislative assembly.



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